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boys. The unmarried men, boys, and married men whose wives are pregnant or nursing infants, as well as a few other men, have slept in the men's house on the beach. Lovers will have slept in the bush, or in the woman's house if the husband is absent.

The men and boys stroll along the beach, where off one end behind a coral formation is the men's latrine, secluded by bushes and trees. The tide washing in makes the latrine a sanitary one. The men continue their leisurely stroll along the beach, sometimes stopping to sit down and gaze at the sea for awhile. The whole day is before them and there is no need for haste.

In the meantime the women and girls have defaecated in the bush, somewhere back of the house, which they now sweep with a broom made of the dried midribs of coconut leaves tied together at one end. The wife throws some taro scrapings and the ends of taro left from the previous day to the pigs. By the time the man has returned from the beach the woman has finished tidying the house. Each now eats a taro baked the day before. This is not a regular meal, and they frequently eat while standing up or sauntering about.

After this (it is now about 7.30) the women load baskets on their backs and go to the gardens, which are about an hour's walk through the bush. Here they plant the taro, pull out weeds, and fill the baskets with taro ready to be eaten. The men may go to the gardens also, to build a new fence, or repair an old one, to clear ground for a new garden, or perhaps to get firewood. Or they may stay at home to look after the baby. Sometimes they fish, build a new house, or repair an old one. Men too old to work sit on the beach, or in the compound in front of the house, or occasionally take a short stroll. A feeble old woman stays in the house. One not so feeble, but too old for active work, takes care of a grandchild, real or classificatory. The occu-

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pation of the children varies according to their sex. The girls from about ten on help their mothers in the gardens. The boys wander around the village, playing and taking care of their younger sisters and brothers. If there is any fishing, they stand about on the fringe looking on, as they do also in housebuilding or any other occupation. A slightly older boy assists his father in work connected with the gardens, when his help is needed.

The women, and men too, if they have gone to the gardens, return to the village in the early afternoon, usually about two o'clock. This varies, and occasionally they come back at noon, or sometimes late afternoon, about four or five o'clock. They arrive back hot, dusty, and tired, and immediately bathe in the sea, coming out cleansed and refreshed. Both men and women wear their loin-cloths when they go into the sea and put on dry ones when they come out. There are no separate bathing-places for the sexes, but as a matter of practice the two sexes never bathe very near each other at the same time. After bathing they perform the toilet of the day, combining their hair and powdering it with white lime. If they feel so inclined they may add some facial decoration; painting a yellow ring around one eye is a favourite style. Then, if they are hungry, there is a piece of cold baked taro in the house, left over from the day before.

Now come the preparations for the evening meal, mostly the woman's task and usually done communally by the members of one hamlet or two neighbouring ones. Occasionally, if they have returned late from the gardens, the cooking is done individually. The women scrape the taro and the men bring in the firewood and the leaves and make the *liga*, a pile of hot stones, in which the food is baked. If it is an ordinary meal and no fish or animal is to be baked, the men are not very busy and look after the babies, or stroll about chatting with each other. The women work seriously,

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activities. But it is merely a matter of degree. The intense sunshine which follows the heavy rains causes a rapid evaporation. So, even after the heaviest storms, gardening is resumed, and fishing and house-building are begun again. Coconut and other trees bear all the year round, and in the same way there are taro crops all the year. There are thus no contrasting seasons of plenty and dearth, unless there are exceptional times of drought. The description of work will hold, therefore, for the whole year, although there may be slightly less activity during the rainy season.

DIVISION OF LABOUR

It is the sexual division of labour adhered to so rigidly that first strikes the ethnological observer. Men have one kind of work and women another, and a third kind may be done by either one of them or jointly. As a whole, the division appears to be a most equitable one, and based on the physical capacities of each sex. It is the men who have the strenuous job of clearing the dense jungle ground, and it is the women who come later and plant on it. It is the women who cook, while the men bring in the firewood and make the fires. Even in the cooking there is a division, for the men prepare the animals to be baked, while the women's cooking is restricted to the vegetable portions of the meal—taro and yams. It is the men who go forth into the sea with their nets and spears to catch the fish, while the women content themselves with catching crabs off the reef. It is the women who feed the pigs, carry the water, and keep the house clean, while the men go into the bush and hunt wild pigs. It is the men who build the houses and keep them in repair, but the women carry the heavy burdens on their backs. There are joint occupations such as taking care of the children, the making of magic, and minor detailed work like the basket-making. Carving and most of the objects of material culture are made by

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462 the men. The table opposite gives the exact division of all labour according to sex.

On the major occupations this demarcation is rigid. No woman ever goes fishing and no man ever scrapes taro. But in some of the less important tasks there may be exceptions. If a woman is very tired her husband may go to the beach and fill the hollow bamboo stems with water for her. This was taken for granted, and when I saw it happen several times there was no ridicule.

561 There is a lesser degree of division on lines of age. When we were discussing childhood we noted how the participation of children in the adult occupations was gradually increased, and how by the time puberty was reached the children were taking their full share in the daily tasks. We saw also how, from early childhood, the sex division was maintained, the boys accompanying the men and the little girls the women. From puberty until old age there is practically no division based on age. When a man and woman become old their tasks are lightened and gradually cease altogether. The feeble old people are not expected to work and they are cared for by their children.

463 Although every man fishes, hunts, and builds his house, and every woman cooks and cultivates her garden, there are also specialists in certain occupations. There are the magicians, the "doctors," the carvers, and the weavers of fishing-nets. The magicians are the most highly specialized and command the greatest esteem. A minor degree of specialization also occurs, for example, in that one man may be more proficient in setting up the posts of a house than others; another is a more skilled fisherman; or one woman may be known for her skill in preparing taro in a particular way. But all the specialists participate in the daily routine of living. Even the magician clears the bush ground, fishes, and hunts just like the other men of the village. The only one who is exempt (and then only for a time) is the carver. When he is busy

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Masculine	*Feminine*	*Joint*
Clearing ground for new garden and building garden fence. Planting trees. Getting sago.	Planting taro and yams; weeding; gathering crops and carrying them home.	
Fishing.	Catching crabs on the reef.	Catching the sea-worm, *beta*.
Hunting wild pig and phalanger.	Feeding domestic pigs.	
Cutting firewood; making the *liga*; bringing the leaves for cooking.	Drawing water.	
Preparing pig, fish, and sago to be cooked. Burying bananas in the sand.	Preparing taro and yams to be cooked.	
House-building and repairing.	Sweeping the house and keeping it in order.	
Taking of masks, canoes, *malanggans*, fishing-nets, spears, ornaments.	Carrying heavy burdens with the exception of fish and pigs.	Making baskets and mats. Taking care of children. Medicine and magic. Making "paint" for the hair.

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on the edge of a sharp-pointed stick into a kind of trough, made of the hollowed branch of a coconut tree. The result is as if the taro was put through a coarse meat-grinder. Then the taro is kneaded or worked with the hands and mixed with water and shredded coconut, as if it were a batter. Two layers of long leaves are laid on the ground, shredded coconut put on them, and on top of that the well-kneaded batter patted smooth with the *tsip* (shell). It is the men who do the wrapping in the leaves. When the bundle is ready it is baked in the *liga*.

The coconut for this or any other taro may be shredded by either men or women.[1] The outside skin of the coconut is removed, and it is cut in half and the liquid drunk or used to sprinkle over taro. The half coconut is then rubbed on a pointed stick, the shredded coconut falling into a trough in which the lower end of the pointed stick rests.

Another method is to lay the scraped taro, halved, on banana leaves, sprinkle shredded coconut over it, with a little water; put another layer of taro, coconut, and water, and so on for several layers. The whole is then wrapped in leaves, tied with vine, and baked in the *liga*.

A specially prepared taro is called *Rota*, and is used at birth rites and sometimes at mortuary rites, when it has been prepared in advance. The inside of the taro is scooped out, and the resulting baked taro is very hard and brittle. It is hung up in the house to dry and kept there for many months, and it appears to last indefinitely. Not all women know how to prepare it, and the few who are skilled at it are known for this skill and acquire prestige from it. Everyone will tell you that Kuta knows how to prepare the *Rota*, and when she mentions it there is pride in her voice.

Another way of preparing the taro is to mix it with the

[1] Taro is never scraped by men. They do not know how to do it, and it is unheard of for any of them to attempt it. This is one of the few absolutely rigid customs.

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527 After death feasts.....32
Nineteen of this number were connected with the display of malanggons.
574 Circumcision rites[8].....8
In payment for economic services.....5
These were to repay workers who had built a house or made a garden fence.
Women's feasts.....11
Those at which the women eat or where the food is distributed to them. The latter is the more frequent occurrence. The men do not eat at the women's feasts. They may be further analyzed as follows: birth, 4; pregnancy, 1; circumcision, 1; menstruation, 1; marriage, 1; malanggon,[9] 1; end of dance rehearsals, 1; payment to women who had helped a sick woman of opposite moiety, 1.
Miscellaneous feasts.....20
These are subdivided as follows: abundance of some particular food, 9; baby cutting his first tooth, 1; giving of name to infant, 1; recovery from illness, 2; settlement of quarrel, 1; because infant is strong, 1; for possible mates of infant, 1; end of folk-tale telling period, 1; for my departure, 1; for my servant's departture, 1; just sociability, 1.

At the far end of the village, other minor feasts probably occurred which I did not record or witness. The number of people attending ranged from twenty to five hundred.

Preparations for a Feast

574 Preparing for a feast is a communal enterprise. Early in the morning of
252 the feast, or the day before if it is a big one, the women of the hamlet,
village, or several villages, depending on the size of the feast, bring their
462 taro to the communal cooking ground or cook house.[10] They and the girls old enough to be of assistance immediately begin the work of scraping and preparing the taro to be baked. Their only implement is a shell called 'sip, with which they scrape the skin from the taro. The scraped taro is then wrapped in leaves. The women are quite ingenious in cooking, and there are a number of ways in which this general method is varied. Shredded coconut may be added, or the taro may be cut in a certain manner, or the inside may be scooped out, etc. The women sit in a group on the ground, working busily and seriously. A few men are off on one side tending to the liga, a pile of hot stones on which the food is to be baked. A fire is made to heat the

[8] At these circumcision rites malanggons were displayed. So the rites really had a double function—mortuary and circumcision.

[9] Men ate at this feast, too, but separately from the women.

[262] [10] The principal foods are taro, fish, crabs, pigs, bananas, coconuts, and pawpaws, supplemented by yams, sago, turtle, etc. Taro is the staple article of diet, and its preparation is the main work both of family meals and feasts.

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stones, and when these are hot they are leveled and the food put between them. Leaves and sand are then put over it, and the food remains there until it is baked. Men are working in groups of two or three, but not very continuously, wrapping a fish or a pig in leaves preparatory to baking, or bringing in leaves from the bush to wrap around the food. Their work in this connection is never as steady as the women's work. A man may tend to the liga and then loll around for a half hour or more, until there is something else to do. Frequently the men will take care of the babies, while the mothers scrape the taro. The main work of cooking falls upon the women; although the men do assist, this does not break into the sexual division of labor.

When the women have finished preparing the taro (for a big feast this takes at least three or four hours), and after it has been placed in the liga, the ground on which they have been working is cleaned and they take their ease. Until now they have been working seriously and without stopping, except perhaps to nurse a baby. There has been no talking except for the necessary remarks about the taro. Now they sit in the same place smoking their pipes and chatting. Gossip is exchanged, jokes are told and followed with appreciative laughter, and here and there a woman is engaged in the pastime of searching for lice in a friend's or relative's hair. If a woman of the village has just become pregnant, there will be playful fighting between the women of the opposite moieties. This part of the pregnancy rites occurs whenever there is a group of women present. The men in the meantime are a short distance away, on the beach, in the compound in front of the men's house or some other house, in groups of two or three, smoking and chatting but not in any large group. This period—while the food is baking in the liga—is an easy, convivial, feminine communal occasion, as is the eating which follows for the men.

Description of Feast

Three or four hours later, when the food has been baked, the men and boys carry it in their hands into the cemetery. For the men the cemetery serves as a banqueting hall and most of the men's ritual feasts are held there.[11] Women are never permitted in the cemetery for a feast, or at any other time, except at a burial, and then they leave immediately after the interment.[12]

[11] The economic feasts in payment to workers are not always held in the cemetery, and the malanggon ones are held in a special structure erected for them. The connection of eating in the cemetery with mortuary beliefs must be considered at another time.

[12] However, I was invited to all the feasts, and the invitations were always accepted.